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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

"And After" at the South.

From the N. Y. Nation. In spite of the hostility of Mr. Johnson and the solemn warnings of the Perry school of politicians, the work of registration in the Southern States is nearly completed, and unless a revolution or a succession of earthquakes or a terrible pestilence should occur within the next two months, the election of delegates to the Constitutional Conventions will take place, and the Conventions will be held before the end of the year. If held, the admission of the States to the Union before the close of the next session of Congress is almost certain. In some districts, perhaps two or three, the negro voters will be in a majority. It is not improbable that several negroes will sit in the conventions, and it is not impossible that some may be sent to Congress under the new constitution. Under the new constitution the great majority of male adults of all colors will vote at elections. Many whites will be excluded for participation in the Rebellion, but most of them have sons who have reached manhood since the Rebellion, and who cannot be disfranchised, and who will certainly represent their fathers' sentiments at the polls. In other respects the South will be very much such as the war left it, or as Mr. Johnson's "policy" would have made it. Acts of Congress cannot change the nature of man or the face of the country or the climate. The forces by which human society is held together and impelled on its course—the fear of God, the love of money, love of home and of family and of country, pride, ambition, and patriotism—will remain just as active as ever. The sun will shine and the rain fall, and the rivers will flow and the cotton and tobacco will grow, just as they did before the war. The negroes will continue to hoe corn and pick cotton and groom horses and cut wood after they get votes, for precisely the same motives which drove them to these acts before they got votes—the desire of gain or fear of starvation. It was feared before emancipation that if they were emancipated they would pass the entire day lying on their backs in the sun. That this fear was groundless, a little reflection would have shown, inasmuch as no provision is made in this climate either by nature or legislation for the support of persons passing their time in that way, and the pangs of hunger are fully as unendurable for any length of time by a man in a recumbent posture as by a man moving about on his feet. But it has now been proved to be groundless by actual experiment, just as the fear that vast crowds of negroes would take up their abode in Washington, regardless of the difficulty of supporting themselves, for the mere pleasure of voting annually for the mayor, has been proved to be groundless. The negro has not devoted himself to lying on the ground. He works for his livelihood on the same economical principles as the members of the great Anglo-Saxon race—that is, he gives as little labor as possible for the largest attainable amount of money, and is found to be, as men go, faithful and industrious. To be sure, he chooses his occupation, and his women refuse to work out of doors whenever they can find the means of support indoors; but these inconveniences are inseparable from all free society. They are found under every system of government, and would be found under this Government even if negroes never voted. So it would be silly to complain of them; but nobody at the South, if we are rightly informed, does complain of them.

whites, or, at least, no factor, while the whites are necessarily recruited by immigration. To the blacks no reinforcements come from without, so that if they even were a match for the whites in the political art, they would have, in a very few years, to succumb to mere numbers. All the whites have to do is to facilitate immigration from the North and from Europe. Other things being equal, people would far sooner settle in Virginia or North Carolina than in Minnesota or Iowa. They would be in a more genial climate, nearer the markets and the seaboard, and within easier reach of the great centres of civilization.

Why, then, does not white immigration flow into the South? Why is there the least danger that the negroes will be able to outvote their white neighbors in any district for more than a single year? If Southern men would only answer this question candidly, they would have solved the problem which at this moment most troubles them. Strangers do not want to settle in Virginia, not because they are afraid of the blacks, for they avoided it before anybody ever dreamed of seeing emancipation in our day; but because they are afraid of the whites; because they fear they could not get justice from white juries and white judges; because they are afraid of molestation from their white neighbors; because they do not like duelling and street fights; because they like to be able to take what publications they please and live as they please. Every now and then there reaches us from the South a solemn protest that life and property there are as secure as they are anywhere, and that a man has only to be discreet in his conversation in public places to enjoy as much peace as in Massachusetts. But here lies the kernel of the whole difficulty. Men do not like to be discreet in their conversation in public places. The liberty of being indiscreet is the charm of Northern society. It forms one of the great attractions of the Northern States to people from all parts of the world. People crowd here from Germany and Ireland in immense numbers, mainly, no doubt, in search of cheap land and high wages and freedom from proscription, but also in search of a place in which they can read and talk any nonsense they please; in which they can say "dreadful things," and make "incendiary speeches," revile dignities and titles, preach "dangerous doctrines," try odious social experiments, without any man's making them afraid. It is a pity, no doubt, that human nature should be animated by so insensate a desire, that it should not love the ancient ways and ancient codes; but we have to deal with it as it is, and not as it ought to be. Whenever the time comes in which a man may maintain against all comers on a Virginia crossroads the thesis that a negro is better than a white man, that the Rebellion was set on foot by Antichrist, or that no ball is complete unless half the guests are colored, without exciting either horror or indignation, the bugbear of negro ascendancy will be forever gone, because the whites from all parts of the world will pour into the State.

The third, at least, of the Southern troubles just now are due to the people's lack of humor. If Governor Perry had ever so little of it he could not have written his recent letters; and if the mass of the people had it, most of the peculiarities which render them such disagreeable neighbors to strangers settling amongst them would at once disappear. There is, for instance, a horrible want of perception of the ridiculous revealed by the "despair" into which large numbers of very sensible Southerners now confess they have fallen, inasmuch as it is tantamount to an acknowledgment that they are sure to be beaten in the political arena by a race whose powers they hold in utter contempt, and which they far surpass in numbers—to whom they deny all capacity for organization or sustained effort or power of calculation.

Side Issues. From the N. Y. Tribune. The main question which now divides the American people concerns primarily the future political status of that portion of our countrymen who have just been redeemed from chattel slavery. Shall our four millions of Americans, who are wholly or partially of African lineage, be regarded and treated by our constitutions as men or as brutes? Shall we count them among the "all men" whom our Declaration of Independence has proclaimed "created equal" or shall they be dealt with as an inferior race or caste, with no rights which others need respect, born to no laws which they have had and shall have no voice in making or modifying? This question must inevitably dominate until it shall have in some way been settled. But our people are also divided and at variance on many other questions, and conspicuously on that of Free Trade vs. Protection, and that of License vs. Prohibition for the traffic in intoxicating beverages. Men who think alike with regard to one of these issues disagree pointedly as to another; and it is utterly useless to try to coerce them into uniformity. Notoriously, most of the protectionists and of the prohibitionists are also Republicans, while most of the Democrats are free traders and for license; but you may find Democrats who are protectionists and prohibitionists, and Republicans who are neither, with individuals of either party who favor protection, but not prohibition, while others support prohibition and oppose protection. What is just, fair, and practicable in the premises is simply this—leave every one free to act in accordance with his own convictions. Let each Republican and each Democrat be a protectionist or free trader, for license or for prohibition, as his own judgment shall dictate. Thus we have supported Republican candidates whom we knew to cherish convictions antagonistic to ours touching the tariff and liquor questions, and shall do so hereafter; claiming from Republicans no conformity to our views on these side issues, and only asking that they allow us the liberty we freely concede them. This does not satisfy the free traders nor the liquor men. They insist that the Republican party shall adopt and be guided by their peculiar tenets, though this should compel three-fourths of its members to stifle their own convictions. They cannot be gratified. At the Republican State Convention of 1855, when the Republican party presented its first distinctive State ticket, a strenuous effort was made to insert a prohibition plank in the party platform. We opposed it as strenuously, and were denounced therefor as subordinating temperance to politics. The party was threatened with the defeat which it soon afterwards encountered if it did not make prohibition a Republican principle—still, the Convention stood firm. If left every Republican free to be or not to be a prohibitionist, and to act upon his own conviction. And in this it did exactly right. Now the party is menaced and assailed from another side. The liquor men say, virtually, "We are not content with being allowed to favor or oppose prohibition as we see fit. We insist that you shall get as we think on this question; if not, we shall turn against and upset the Republican party." And this they have just done in California, and vainly tried to do in Maine. They tried it and failed in

our State last year. Yet one of them crowded a resolve embodying his own view through the late Republican State Convention at Syracuse, in the confusion of its dying moments. Such a resolve is not worth the paper on which it was written. It will bind nobody, satisfy nobody. When the German citizens of California see fit to vote solidly the Democratic ticket because of their love of liquor, we need not try to secure their votes. The better portion of them will vote with us any how, and the worst against us, no matter by what efforts and professions we may seek to conciliate the latter. Their instincts and daily associations will override our protestations and professions.

We have in this State a very liberal license law. The liquor men ought to be satisfied with and help uphold it. They may lawfully keep their bars open more hours than are deemed sufficient by the followers of almost any other calling. It is a more thrifty as well as far more decent business to sell liquor in this city to-day than it would be if such sale were as free as that of bread. But this does not satisfy the liquor men, and nothing will do so will satisfy them. It is unwise, therefore, to try. Better keep straight on in our proper path, and let men come and go as they will. Maine has a stringent act of prohibition; so the liquor men vote the Democratic ticket—California has nothing of the kind; yet her liquor men rally to the Democratic standard. Thus we lose some votes in the dull off-years; but a Presidential contest brings every one to his bearings. Let us each firmly assert his right to act on every side issue precisely as his own judgment shall dictate, conceding a like liberty to the liquor men, and nothing will do so will satisfy them. It is unwise, therefore, to try. Better keep straight on in our proper path, and let men come and go as they will. Maine has a stringent act of prohibition; so the liquor men vote the Democratic ticket—California has nothing of the kind; yet her liquor men rally to the Democratic standard. Thus we lose some votes in the dull off-years; but a Presidential contest brings every one to his bearings. Let us each firmly assert his right to act on every side issue precisely as his own judgment shall dictate, conceding a like liberty to the liquor men, and nothing will do so will satisfy them. It is unwise, therefore, to try. Better keep straight on in our proper path, and let men come and go as they will.

Parties and the Debt. From the N. Y. Times. The national credit is a subject of too momentous importance to be made subservient to mere partisan necessities. The country is more concerned in the knowledge that no party, as such, contemplates an attack upon the financial obligations of the Government, than in the attempt of one set of politicians to fasten upon another set the odium of bad faith. Mr. Pendleton is balanced by General Butler. We think we discover in the Anti-Slavery Standard a readiness to sanction the result at which the Chicago Times aims. But no party organization—no regular party gathering of any sort—has pronounced in favor of measures calculated to impair the sanctity of national promises to pay. The Democracy even of Ohio have in no manner made themselves responsible for Mr. Pendleton's plan of repudiation by inflation, and no journal has been more decided in its condemnation than our contemporary, the World. On the other hand, the entire Republican press has taken ground against the proposal of General Butler to pay off the bonds with paper instead of gold. Of his argument, that the promise of the Government is to pay with greenbacks, not gold, we have seen but a solitary supporter, and he a writer in the oracle of Mr. Wendell Phillips. The entire Republican party, radical and moderate, holds the view to which the Syracuse Convention has given emphatic utterance. That under no circumstances should the credit of the nation or State be injured by the wrongful tampering with public obligations, and that the name of the Republic shall never be dishonored by the slightest deviation from the path of financial integrity.

The fact is clear, then, that no party, nor any considerable section of a party in the country, directly or indirectly favors the policy of repudiation. Among both Republicans and Democrats there are many who deem impolitic the exemption of Federal bonds from taxation, and in any scheme of consolidation we presume that provision will be made for removing the anomaly in this respect that now exists. On neither side, however, is there any other feeling than that which should inspire unbounded confidence in the good faith of the Republic towards its creditors. The foreign holders of our bonds may rest assured that the few repudiators for whom Mr. Pendleton and General Butler speak are themselves repudiated by the American people. Cobbett's demand for an "equitable adjustment" of England's debts had more support among Englishmen than similar demands are likely to have among Americans. Politics have no place in the question this side of the Atlantic.

Perhaps, indeed, the question would not have been heard of controversially, but for the inconsiderate policy which calls for oppressive taxation as a means of paying off the debt with the greatest possible haste. Messrs. Pendleton and Butler alike find their excuse in the blunder which regards the rapid reduction of our bonded liabilities as a cardinal merit in Treasury management. To remove the question altogether from the arena of debate, all that is necessary is to allow the redemption of the debt to await its maturity. The privilege of redeeming certain of the bonds at the end of five years entails no obligation to do so; that will not come until the expiration of twenty years; and in the interval the ability of the country to discharge this class of liabilities will increase in a ratio that should relieve us from present anxiety. Ex-Governor Morton's argument on this point best covers the difficulty. Let us go on meeting every obligation as it arises with the most perfect faith, but anticipating nothing, whether in the shape of trouble or debt. The real object to be attained is the simplification and reduction of taxes which now oppress industry and trade. If this be attended to promptly and well, we may safely dismiss all care as to the ability of the country to sustain its debt, and to discharge it honorably whenever it becomes due.

trampling down impossibilities, in reconstructing the Government, in conducting the greatest war of the century, and in liberating four millions of slaves, and so forth, belongs to the loyal masses of the people of the loyal States. In 1861 there was hardly a show of organized opposition in the North to Mr. Lincoln's administration; the rank and file of the Democratic party, with the Republicans, were merged into the great Union war party. Our leading Union generals, regulars and volunteers, were drawn from the old Democratic party; and Tammany Hall was as active as any Union League club in mustering regiments of volunteers for the war. From the terrible disasters of the Union armies in 1862, the Democratic party, in New York, for example, took bold ground for "a more vigorous prosecution of the war," and the result was the election of Horatio Seymour as Governor by ten thousand majority. Pennsylvania also turned right about face, and had the Democracy held fast to that war platform they would doubtless have been charged with the duties of carrying through the war and the work of restoration. Down to the fall elections of 1862, at all events, the Republican party, charged with the conduct of the war, had failed, in the judgment of the people, to give a satisfactory report of profit and loss.

But from that point the "peace at any price" fellies and blunders of the Democratic Copperhead leaders, and Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, and the victories of Grant, and the great triumph at Gettysburg, brought over the loyal masses of the North into an active support of the Republican party against the Democratic Copperhead cry that the war for the Union was a failure, and that we must have peace at any price. So it was that the loyal masses of the North, with lavish offerings of men, money, means, and facilities of all kinds never before known in the history of any people, carried through the Administration, Congress, and the Republican party, to the subjugation of the Rebel States and the abolition of slavery. And yet, under Republican management, the war was the most extravagant in its expenditures and the most wasteful in men, money, and materials of any war since the Florida war of Van Buren, in which forty millions of money were squandered in reducing less than a thousand Seminole warriors.

The truth is that as the vital elements of the Republican party were drawn from the old Democratic party, so have the spoils and plunder proclivities of the one been transferred from the other. But what says Mr. Conkling? He paints the Republican party as an angel of light embarrassed in its path to the millennium, chiefly by Andrew Johnson, an angel of darkness. All our present troubles are by Mr. Conkling strapped upon the back of this convenient scapegoat, Andrew Johnson. There is, however, another side to this picture. The Republican party has been faithless to its pledges and to the will of the people. It presented to the people last year as its platform of reconstruction the pending Constitutional amendment, leaving it to the respective States to choose between suffrage and representation on the one hand, and a restricted suffrage, with a corresponding loss of representation, on the other. That platform, by overwhelming majorities, was approved from Maine to California. Why was it, thus endorsed by the people, abandoned by Congress? Because the party in power thought it had secured the power to do anything, and because it thought that with the establishment of negro supremacy in the South, in addition to an overshadowing moneyed oligarchy in the North, its reign of power would be indefinitely extended.

Upon these great and momentous issues the people in these coming Northern elections will have to decide. Mr. Conkling brings forward Andrew Johnson as his stalking horse; but these are the dangers which are behind him, negro supremacy in the South, in the place of the old slaveholding oligarchy, and a despotic moneyed monopoly in the North, compared with which the old United States Bank and Andrew Jackson and Van Buren's pet banks were mere bagatelles as agents of corruption, inflation, and revulsion. Mr. Conkling's fancy sketch of the Republican party will not do. They will have to meet this test of their own delinquencies before the people, and hence Andrew Johnson as a scapegoat will no longer avail them.

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REVEALING THE GREAT MISTAKE OF THE SOUTH. The main question which now divides the American people concerns primarily the future political status of that portion of our countrymen who have just been redeemed from chattel slavery. Shall our four millions of Americans, who are wholly or partially of African lineage, be regarded and treated by our constitutions as men or as brutes? Shall we count them among the "all men" whom our Declaration of Independence has proclaimed "created equal" or shall they be dealt with as an inferior race or caste, with no rights which others need respect, born to no laws which they have had and shall have no voice in making or modifying? This question must inevitably dominate until it shall have in some way been settled. But our people are also divided and at variance on many other questions, and conspicuously on that of Free Trade vs. Protection, and that of License vs. Prohibition for the traffic in intoxicating beverages. Men who think alike with regard to one of these issues disagree pointedly as to another; and it is utterly useless to try to coerce them into uniformity. Notoriously, most of the protectionists and of the prohibitionists are also Republicans, while most of the Democrats are free traders and for license; but you may find Democrats who are protectionists and prohibitionists, and Republicans who are neither, with individuals of either party who favor protection, but not prohibition, while others support prohibition and oppose protection. What is just, fair, and practicable in the premises is simply this—leave every one free to act in accordance with his own convictions. Let each Republican and each Democrat be a protectionist or free trader, for license or for prohibition, as his own judgment shall dictate. Thus we have supported Republican candidates whom we knew to cherish convictions antagonistic to ours touching the tariff and liquor questions, and shall do so hereafter; claiming from Republicans no conformity to our views on these side issues, and only asking that they allow us the liberty we freely concede them. This does not satisfy the free traders nor the liquor men. They insist that the Republican party shall adopt and be guided by their peculiar tenets, though this should compel three-fourths of its members to stifle their own convictions. They cannot be gratified. At the Republican State Convention of 1855, when the Republican party presented its first distinctive State ticket, a strenuous effort was made to insert a prohibition plank in the party platform. We opposed it as strenuously, and were denounced therefor as subordinating temperance to politics. The party was threatened with the defeat which it soon afterwards encountered if it did not make prohibition a Republican principle—still, the Convention stood firm. If left every Republican free to be or not to be a prohibitionist, and to act upon his own conviction. And in this it did exactly right. Now the party is menaced and assailed from another side. The liquor men say, virtually, "We are not content with being allowed to favor or oppose prohibition as we see fit. We insist that you shall get as we think on this question; if not, we shall turn against and upset the Republican party." And this they have just done in California, and vainly tried to do in Maine. They tried it and failed in

trampling down impossibilities, in reconstructing the Government, in conducting the greatest war of the century, and in liberating four millions of slaves, and so forth, belongs to the loyal masses of the people of the loyal States. In 1861 there was hardly a show of organized opposition in the North to Mr. Lincoln's administration; the rank and file of the Democratic party, with the Republicans, were merged into the great Union war party. Our leading Union generals, regulars and volunteers, were drawn from the old Democratic party; and Tammany Hall was as active as any Union League club in mustering regiments of volunteers for the war. From the terrible disasters of the Union armies in 1862, the Democratic party, in New York, for example, took bold ground for "a more vigorous prosecution of the war," and the result was the election of Horatio Seymour as Governor by ten thousand majority. Pennsylvania also turned right about face, and had the Democracy held fast to that war platform they would doubtless have been charged with the duties of carrying through the war and the work of restoration. Down to the fall elections of 1862, at all events, the Republican party, charged with the conduct of the war, had failed, in the judgment of the people, to give a satisfactory report of profit and loss. But from that point the "peace at any price" fellies and blunders of the Democratic Copperhead leaders, and Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, and the victories of Grant, and the great triumph at Gettysburg, brought over the loyal masses of the North into an active support of the Republican party against the Democratic Copperhead cry that the war for the Union was a failure, and that we must have peace at any price. So it was that the loyal masses of the North, with lavish offerings of men, money, means, and facilities of all kinds never before known in the history of any people, carried through the Administration, Congress, and the Republican party, to the subjugation of the Rebel States and the abolition of slavery. And yet, under Republican management, the war was the most extravagant in its expenditures and the most wasteful in men, money, and materials of any war since the Florida war of Van Buren, in which forty millions of money were squandered in reducing less than a thousand Seminole warriors. The truth is that as the vital elements of the Republican party were drawn from the old Democratic party, so have the spoils and plunder proclivities of the one been transferred from the other. But what says Mr. Conkling? He paints the Republican party as an angel of light embarrassed in its path to the millennium, chiefly by Andrew Johnson, an angel of darkness. All our present troubles are by Mr. Conkling strapped upon the back of this convenient scapegoat, Andrew Johnson. There is, however, another side to this picture. The Republican party has been faithless to its pledges and to the will of the people. It presented to the people last year as its platform of reconstruction the pending Constitutional amendment, leaving it to the respective States to choose between suffrage and representation on the one hand, and a restricted suffrage, with a corresponding loss of representation, on the other. That platform, by overwhelming majorities, was approved from Maine to California. Why was it, thus endorsed by the people, abandoned by Congress? Because the party in power thought it had secured the power to do anything, and because it thought that with the establishment of negro supremacy in the South, in addition to an overshadowing moneyed oligarchy in the North, its reign of power would be indefinitely extended. Upon these great and momentous issues the people in these coming Northern elections will have to decide. Mr. Conkling brings forward Andrew Johnson as his stalking horse; but these are the dangers which are behind him, negro supremacy in the South, in the place of the old slaveholding oligarchy, and a despotic moneyed monopoly in the North, compared with which the old United States Bank and Andrew Jackson and Van Buren's pet banks were mere bagatelles as agents of corruption, inflation, and revulsion. Mr. Conkling's fancy sketch of the Republican party will not do. They will have to meet this test of their own delinquencies before the people, and hence Andrew Johnson as a scapegoat will no longer avail them.

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